

1910

A MODEST
VINDICATION
OF THE
CHARACTER AND CONDUCT
OF A
Great OFFICER of STATE.

IN A ANSWER TO A LETTER

TO THE

Right Honourable J— P—;

In a LETTER to a NOBLE LORD in ENGLAND.

By an ENGLISH GENTLEMAN, now in IRELAND.

Audito alteram partem.

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A MODERN
A JUDGATION
ON THE
CHARACTER AND CONDUCT
OF A GREAT OFFICER OF STATE.

BY A MEMBER OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY.



RIGHT HONORABLE — B —

IN A LETTER TO A NOBLE LORD IN ENGLAND.

AS IT IS COUNTRY GENTLEMAN WHO IS IMPEACHED.

THE AUTHOR'S PUBLICATIONS.

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THE
MODEST VINDICATION, &c.

MY LORD,

AT THOUGH I have neither Estate, Place or Pension in Ireland, and neither Hope nor Wish to obtain any there; although I can boast of little Affinity, and very small Connections with its Natives, as a Lover of Mankind in general, I must wish well to the People of that Country, but as a true Friend to the Glory and Happiness of my native Country, *Britain*, I must be highly interested in the Peace, Prosperity, and Liberty of every Part of the Dominions of her Crown, among which, *Ireland*, as a most ancient and important Kingdom, and its Subjects, as Men of the most invariable Loyalty, demand my first Regards.

I cannot therefore sufficiently condemn those corrupt, or shallow Politicians, who think, that the cramping *Ireland* in her natural Trade, the discouraging her Manufactures, abridging her legal Liberty, or otherwise oppressing her Subjects, serviceable or necessary to the common Good of *England*: The direct reverse of these Notions, must, to all just, thinking Men, appear evidently true; whoever invades the Liberty or Rights of a *British* Subject, in the remotest Parts of the Dominions

ons of the Crown, invades those of *Britain*, and tramples under Foot her Laws, which are the Laws of Liberty. He that would rob a Subject of *Ireland* of his Liberty, would not hesitate at bereaving a *Briton* of his Birthright. And he, who would overturn or abuse the Constitution of *Ireland*, would do no less, in *England*, if a favourable Opportunity did but offer.

I cannot therefore, unaffected, read an insidious Pamphlet, lately industriously circulated, in both Kingdoms, entitled a *Letter to the Right Honourable I---- P----, S---- of H---- C----* in Ireland, as it seems artfully contrived to abus[e] to hood-wink an honest, credulous People, to lull them into Security, and consequent Inattention and Sloth, by puffing the Character of the expected Governor, and magnifying and exalting his Virtues, by depreciating and villifying those of the Governor preparing to retreat.

It is an old stale Trick of the Partizans of Power to cry up every coming Lord Lieutenant, as a Saint in Morals as well as Politics, a Demi-god. And though this Prank has been played, over and over, since Viceroy's were first sent into this Kingdom, the good-natured, good-humoured People, seem each Time to receive new Pleasure in being duped.

Many Records may be produced to prove this Truth, from the Time of Lord *Stafford* inclusive, to the halcyon Days now proclaimed to be coming on with the new Viceroy. A Lord Lieutenant, who in our Days laboured with equal Art and Assiduity to get Parliaments abolished, by imposing Taxes, for twenty one Years, and his Successor who failed

sailed closer to the Wind, were, before their respective Arrivals, extolled to the Skies. The Lord Lieutenant, who at once burthened and disgraced the Establishment, with the very worst, and meanest Officers, ecclesiastic, civil, and military, and with many Pensions to the most Worthless, and who attempted to get Bills passed in Parliament, which took their Rise in the Privy Council, was proclaimed by the Partizans of his Power, before his coming, as a Divinity. And Honours, next to divine, were paid him long after he left this, only because he was succeeded by a much worse Officer, who was nevertheless as highly puffed, as any of his Predecessors, before his Arrival; tho' his Memory has since been justly held in Detestation.

Who can forget the Fate of the Lord Lieutenant, who made so many memorable, temporary Patriots, tho' he was quarrelled with and abused for getting the King's previous Consent, to the passing of an Act of Parliament, inserted in a Bill, as it was coolly suffered to be done by his Predecessor? This Nobleman, who before the first and every succeeding Time of his coming over, was cried up as the best and greatest of Men, made himself so hateful as to be forced to arm a Mob out of the Royal Arsenal, to hew him out a Passage at his Exit, through the incensed Populace; for which Service, the Hackney Justice, who, by Command of the Viceroy, headed the retiring Chief Governor's Mob, obtained the first, though not the last, Pension of the Kind upon the Establishment.

What extravagant Praises were lavished, before his Arrival, upon that Lord Lieutenant, who was entrusted with a large Sum of Money to provide Arms for this Kingdom? Yet, besides numberless nameless

nameless Jobs, before his Commission was superseded, or very soon after, it was well known, that he charged thirty five Shillings for each Stand of the Arms he supplied, though they cost him but seven Shillings and six Pence, and though not above one in four or five of the Musket Barrels stood the Test.

From this Nobleman, and another who succeeded him, though not in the immediate Order, of Chronology, the greatest and highest Expectations were raised in this Kingdom, because they happened to be related to a certain illustrious Martyr for British Liberty. Yet the latter, besides giving the first Employments in the Church and State to the most worthless of his followers, and burdening the miserable Establishment with undeserved Pensions, for his pitiful Relations and dissolute Train of Gamblers and Panders, dared to deny the Representative of the People the necessary constitutional Access to their Sovereign, without which the Kingdom cannot be said to exist. By such Achievements as these, was the Man, who, before his coming we looked up at, as a Divinity, at his going off, we looked down upon, as a Fiend. He had too much Prudence to trust himself, surrounded as he was, with his Mercenary Satellites, through the provoked and enraged Multitude. But while he diverted them with Expectations of seeing him go off in the usual public Manner, he sallied out at a Back-Door, with an hired Mob for his Defence, placed at the Head of all the Streets, by which he passed, commanded by a trusty Ringleader, since made a Squire and a Pensioner, for the worthy Defence of his worthy Master.

What

What Praises were not lavished upon the young Nobleman, who came over early in the Summer, and made a Progress through the West and South-west Parts of the Kingdom, before his coming? Every Virtue, moral and political, had been given his Father also, before he came over. But the Son, we were assured, possessed all these Virtues in a superlative Degree. However, the memorable confederate Patriots of the Year 1753, who were looked upon as so many political Martyrs, as they gave up their political Lives, their Employments and their Pensions, rather than submit to repeat the Injury and Dishonour, which they had once before done their Country; these Gentlemen affected, as some of the present Rulers now do, to look with a jealous Eye on the unusual early Arrival of the Viceroy. They cried out with one Accord, *this early coming was dangerous; that the new Governor ought to be watched; and that all good Country Men must join in opposing his Measures.* He came.--- What was the Event? He made his Tour through the Kingdom, or that Part of it, from which he was threatened with the most powerful Opposition. But all the Ways were smoothed before him and strewed with Flowers. All the Cities and Corporations, through which he passed, rankled the Towns and the Country for Boxes, in which to present him with their Freedom. He disarmed all his boasting, threatening Opponents. He restored the martyred Patriots to Life. He gave all back their own or other Employments, with additional Salaries or collateral Pensions. He enlarged the Number of Pensioners, beyond any Extravagance that was known before. He made Peers, and pensioned some for half an Age, and blessed this flourishing Kingdom with your present power.

powerful Sp---r. All these great Things he achieved for us, at so small an Expence to the Country, as something less than a Million Sterling. In what Estimation is the Memory of this liberal Lord Lieutenant now held?--- Tell it not in GATH.

Where shall I stop? My Lord, was there a single Lord Lieutenant since this, from whom we were not taught to look for golden Days? Yet, can you point out more than one, from whom little was promised, little expected; yet, who filled the Station with Dignity and Lustre truly regal? Who lived magnificently and dealt honourably and justly with the Public and Individuals? and who left a grateful Impression on the Minds of the People? Your Lordship knows there was but one. I need not name him to you, because you know him; and I shall not name him to the Multitude, because I chuse to avoid the most distant Appearance of Adulation.

I am as great a Stranger to the expected Lord Lieutenant, as the Author of the Letter pretends to be. He may be, and I hope he will prove, a most fit and excellent Governor, one worthy of his patriot Sovereign, and his present noble Administration. I am willing to suppose, that all this may be expected from this Nobleman's Character in Life. Yet notwithstanding, I cannot think him a sincere Friend of his Lordship, nor a true Friend to Ireland, who puffs him in so extravagant a Strain, raises the public Expectation and takes the credulous People off their Guard. And all this, at the Expence of a Gentleman in high Station, who will not upon a strict Scrutiny be found much more culpable in his Conduct, however inferior

ferior in Talents and Endowments to his Prede-
cessors.

I think and hope, my Lord, that I am as much disposed to think well and to expect good Things at the Hands of that Nobleman, as I should be. If his Measures prove what I wish and hope, I shall go as far to do Justice to his Merit and Fame, and to promote his Measures, as the Author of the Letter or any other of his most interested Flatterers, of my Capacity and in my Station. But long Experience and Observation has made me diffident. And I shall therefore consider every Viceroy, sent to rule this Country, in the same Light, in which I view the Captain Baffa, sent to collect Tribute from the Isles of the Archipelago. I think the People of IRELAND should be taught by Experience, to look for Mischief, and guard against it. If Good be done, instead of Evil, they will never be weak or wicked enough to oppose their Benefactor, or prove ungrateful to the beneficent Hand.

Your Lordship must well remember what the Lord Strafford says of the People of IRELAND, in one of his Letters to one of the British Ministers. If my Memory fail not, he tells his Correspondent, *if he would carry any new or extraordinary Point, he must send over a new Lord Lieutenant; for to such, the Irish are ever ready to pay the most servile Reverence and Submission.*

Whether I have fairly quoted this great, wicked Ruler, or not, I leave to your Lordship's Determination. But from my own Observation, I can assert the Maxim to be certainly true.

Therefore, my Lord, I must think the Letter to the Sp---r, a dangerous insidious Pamphlet, artfully calculated for more bad Purposes than one.

I would not be thought an Advocate for Mr. P-----. Whatevever I might formerly have thought of him, I now know him too well to love or confide in him. My Conduct to him has ever been governed by his Conduct to the Public. In the Height of his Power and Popularity, I never flattered him, nor in his decline did I ever abuse him. I wish the Author of the Letter could say as much. Where the Sp---r is wrong or defective in the Duties of his Stations, let him be fairly and publicly called to Account, not privately slandered.

This Author has long known well, how the Wind blows with respect to the Sp---r. He knows that his Family Interest is now broke, on your Side of the Water. He knows, that his insignificant, low Quirks, Jobbs, and now apparent Tergiversations, the last Seision of P----t, has rendered him as despicable in the Sight of all good Men in Authority on your Side of the Water, as they have made him hateful and contemptible on this.

While this Ruler is beating up for Recruits here, to give avowed Opposition to the Measures of the expected Governor, whether right or wrong; the Author, who seems to have made his Party good in this Quarter, like the Rat, *which never fails to fly the falling House*, has the Prudence to change Sides. He throws P---- on his Face in the Mire, that B---- and his Flatterers may walk clean over the Gutter upon this prostrate Hero's Back.

But

But this is not all.—P---- being given up, one way or other, to Perdition, Adoration is to be paid to the Rising Sgn. A Gentleman whose Tongue long seemed unfit to sing Praises to modern Governors, and who gained himself no small Credit with his Countrymen for a very uniform Opposition to Court-measures, is inclined to try his Talents on the other Side the Question. In order then, to justify this Conduct, it is necessary to shew P----, whose Party the Author has lately deserted, to be a Dog, a Devil, and Lord B----, a Hero, a God.

Thus, my Lord, the Unity of Character is to be preserved : He who laudably opposed the Measures of several former Viceroys, whom he, perhaps, justly exposed ; may apparently, consistently, take the Lead in the Service of a Lord Lieutenant, whom he represents as commissioned and inclined to overthrow Faction, to reanimate the expiring Civil Constitution with all the necessary salutary Laws, that Wisdom can suggest, or Justice and Liberty demand.

Though every good Man must gladly join in the Support of such Measures, when such they see ; the Public ought to receive further Proofs than the bare Assertions of an anonymous, not to say an interested Writer, before they suffer themselves to be taken off that watchful Guard, which it behoves all the Assertors and Friends of Liberty to hold, upon the Conduct of all Men in Power, without Distinction.

Thus I have laid open some of the principal Views, with which this Letter appears to me to have been wrote. And People expect nothing less

than to see the Author and all his Connexions taken into the Favour and Confidence of Lord B---, unless his Lordship has more Sense and Penetration, and is not better Proof against Flatterers than ordinary.

But let us return a while to this abused Mr. P--- and see what Foundation there is for all the artful Abuse lavished upon him by this anonymous Letter-Writer.

If it be asked, in what has that Gentleman differed from most of his Predecessors in the Chair? It must be answered, in nothing but Qualifications and Abilities for the Station in which he has been put. I grant, that a good humoured, good natured, facetious, Country Gentleman was spoiled or lost to Society, when Mr. P--- was made Sp---r. That he can hardly write, and that because he cannot read. That he is a meer Mummer in Office, and has not a single requisite Qualification, for any of the high Stations, to which he has been unfortunately exalted. I confess, the making him Sp---r has cost the Nation not less than half a Million Sterl. That he holds Places, utterly incompatible with the Office of S---r. That he keeps a Pack of the saddest Dogs in the Kingdom, with a Set of old infamous Hacks, who have often threatened, and seem now actually ready, to run restive; and that he employs the vilest Set of Dog-boys and Whippers-in imaginable. And that to maintain these base Wretches, he has been allowed eight times as much as the best of his Predecessors.

I shall also confess, that he has traded very largely and profitably in all the Elections, since his Appointment; and that he has been a contracting or a gua-

a guaranteeing Party in every filthy Compromise made upon every disputed Election ; and yet, that whosoever danced, the Nation was principally obliged to pay the Piper.

But what Weight will our Author find in these Charges and Admissions, if the Gentleman can plead Prescription and Precedent for every Part of his Conduct ?

Let it be first considered, that this Gentleman, tho' he might have found Means to induce some flavish Electors to give him a Seat in P---t, he cannot be supposed able to use the like Influence to obtain the Place of a Com---r, of Sp---r of the H--- of C---, or of one of the L---s J---s of Ireland.

The Cunning of his Father, seconded by the Wisdom of the Government, procured him the Place of a C---r. If he be not fit for the Place, it is not his Fault. The Place is found perfectly fit for him. And sure our Author does not expect, that a Gentleman should give up an Employment, to which he may claim a sort of hereditary Right, merely because he is not quite equal to the Task ? Would our Patriot Author do this ? Or, is it a Crime in this Sp---r to hold an Employment, which has for Ages been one of the Securities of the submissive Subserviency of his Predecessors, Sp---rs, to the Ministry ? Righteous and Patriotic as our Author may be, he cannot be a Stranger to the use of Rewards and Punishments in these our virtuous Days. And he must judge, that a Ministry, who wish to have some hold of the Sp--- of the H--- of C---, must think a Thousand or twelve Hundred Pounds a Year, well laid

laid out, in a Sine-cure during Pleasure, to engage in their Interest, one, who by Prescription and Usage, time immemorial, takes the Lead and dictates, to a very popular and powerful Assembly. Add to this, the Weight and Influence, the Office of a C—r must give the Sp—r, in Elections, universally. Hence, for a great Length of Time, it has been found necessary to make him, who had Influence enough to get himself appointed Sp—r, a C—r. And while these Motives justify the Ministry in coupling these incongruous Employments, they must apologize for the Sp—r's declining the parting willingly with either, though his Resignation should be in the modern Stile, in favour of our Patriot Author, or some of his Relations or Friends.

The same Arguments will equally well justify Power, in conferring the Office of one of the L—ds J—s upon the Sp—r. How could he be supposed to manage and to rule, or to undertake to manage and to rule a great and popular Assembly, were they not assured, however falsely, that their Sp—r, as one of the L—ds J—s, had plenary Power to gratify all their Desires, and to fulfil the amplest Promises most liberally by him made?--- Is not the Sp—r fit for this Office? If our Author be hardy enough to answer in the negative; I shall reply, If the Sp—r be not fit for the Office, the Office is found very fit for him, and it is fit he should hold it, till Times, Men and Manners be altered;---with great Deference to the Patriot Author of the Letter.

But if the Author be angry or jealous at Mr. P—'s holding the Places, which I confess, with him, are utterly incompatible with the necessary Dignity,

Dignity, Freedom and Independence, with which the Sp—r of the H— of C—s should ever be invested; let the Author consider, that sacred Prescription, and unerring Precedents are of our Sp—r's Side. And while it is found necessary for the Measures of G—t to keep the H—e of C— in strict, passive Obedience to the Will of the Ministry, the Sp—r must hold some Emoluments at Pleasure, must be indulged with some little Power and the Appearance of much Power and Pomp, to keep his Followers in Awe and in good Humour.

However, it is possible that Mr. P— would not have had either of these Employments, at least, it is certain, he could not have had the latter, had he not found Means to get himself appointed, I cannot say elected, Sp—r. Is he totally unfit for this Task? I confess, it appears not that he possesses a single requisite Qualification for the Office; but, it is not less certain, that the Office is very fit for him. It brings him in, besides Fees and Perquisites, no less a Sum than four Thousand Pounds a Session, and secures to him the Rank and Emoluments of the Places of one of the L—ds J—s and one of the C—rs, which, with Salaries, Fees, Sales of Offices and other Perquisites, bring in no less than three Thousand Pounds a Year more. Are these such Trifles, as to be slightly given up? Would our Author, if they were his, be Patriot enough to give them up, meerly for his being said, or supposed to be unfit for the Employments? Give me leave to presume, he is no such Fool. But who can have the Face to suppose Mr. P— unfit for any of these Offices, when the Wisdom of the R——ve Body of the N——n, twice unanimously conferred

fferred the Office of Sp—r upon him, and G—t, in pure Complaisance to the C—ns, repeatedly concurred in their Choice, and dignified their Officer with these now appendent Feathers of the Office.

Thus if the C—ns and G—t be not justifiable in their Appointment of this Officer, yet surely he is justifiable in holding, as long as he can, Offices, which he can no more suspect to be incompatible with each other, than he can imagine himself incapable or unworthy, when the Offices may be said to be conferred upon him by the current Choice of his King and Country.

But our Author threatens, though in jocose Terms, the displacing this great Officer. Pray what are his Offences? Has he done any Thing, for which he cannot plead Prescription and Precedent? Has he not been a most humble, obsequious and faithful Servant and Minister of every Administration since he was in Office? Has he not fully proved his passive Obedience and Non-resistance? I confess he has often confidered the C—ns as his Creatures, his Tools, and made them his Fools, his Dupes. And, when thro' Mistake or Inadvertancy, they have run counter to his Will, one Day, he has whipt the yelping Curs back again to the directed Scent, and made them, undo all they had done before, the Day following.

It is also confessed, that in some very popular Questions, such as in the passing a favourite Bill of the Public, he has let his Pack, sometimes join the popular Cry; but it is as certain, that he justly made use of the Superiority given and confessed in him,

him, by the H—se, to correct and bring them to rights: For when he was thus forced to let Bills pass in the H—se, to gratify the ill-judging People, he either opposed them in the Council; and if they passed there, never failed of using his Influence on the other Side of the Water, while he had any, to good Effect; where the Nod of any P— Counsellor, or Party, or the Kingdom's failing to bribe a Court Lawyer or two, can get any Irish Bill sent to make Measures for Taylors.

But if in all this, our Sp—r be countenanced by sacred Prescription and infallible Precedents, what has our Author to cavil at?

I know our Author will malevolently charge the Sp—r with Partiality in calling up the Members to speak in their Order. I confess, that in the House of C— of England, the S— must and does hear every Member, without distinction, in his turn. That may do very well in England, where they are too wise to suffer the S— to hold any Court Employment. But here, where it is always found necessary to give the Sp—r high Court Offices, he cannot avoid making necessary Distinctions. He judges it sometimes necessary totally to silence some Members, by keeping some Babblers at Fault or in Prate, till the U—r of the B—R— commands the Attendance of the House elsewhere. But if he does such Things as these, they are not without Precedent, and have been often commanded to be done by his Superiors. And sure it is not fit that any Man should censure the Sp—r, for his Conduct in the H—se, while it obtained the declared or tacit Approbation of the H—se. Has

he not been applauded and thanked and highly rewarded for his Conduct in every Session? And if, at the Close of the last, he openly refused to hear a Member relative to that disagreeable Subject, the Military Riot, where was the Author of the Letter then? Where were the other Patriots, when this complained of Outrage was committed? They were all present, sat silent and smiled their Approbation of the Ruler's Conduct. Who then shall dare to arraign it?

But why does our Author look upon the Sp—r as so obnoxious to Government, that he must be removed?

Let the Gentleman's whole Life be examined with Strictness and let his Enemies give, if they can, a second Instance of his giving any Opposition to the known Will or Direction of his Superiors.

It is true, he is charged with giving open or secret Opposition to the passing a Law for Limiting the Duration of Parliaments, in every Session in which it has been attempted. Till the last, it is true, he had G—t in some Measure of his Side. But in that Session, the Chief Governor and the British Ministry, seemed ready to answer the just Demands of the People, and to concur with the H— of C— who passed the Bill, with the apparent Permission of their Sovereign Lord, the Sp—r. Nay we were told and assured that Government made a Point of passing this Bill. But that the Sp—r used his then powerful Influence with the Br—sh P—y C—l, to have it rejected, and succeeded.

I will

I will be bold to say, this is the sole and single Act of Evidence to Government that can be charged upon the Sp—r. Is it not then rigorous, not to say cruel, to condemn a Man, without Mercy, for his first, his only Offence against his Superiors? Or is he to be denied the Benefit of Clergy, allowed to Fellons who can read? It is true he can hardly read. But what matter? While he is in Office and Power, he can never want one to read for him. His first and sole Offence, in common Mercy, should be pardoned; especially when it is considered that his *All* was at Stake; and that the Dissolution of Parliament must be as bad as a final Dissolution to him; since upon a new Election, he could hardly hope to obtain a Seat in P—t, or if he did, could never hope again to be made a C—r or a L—d J—ce.

Let then our Author make this his own Case, and then he will be merciful enough to use his Interest with the coming Governor to pardon this single Instance of Back-sliding, or if the S—z must resign, let his Sun set in a Calm and without a Cloud, and his Retreat be comforted like his Predecessors, with a Peerage and a small Pension of two or three Thousand Pounds a Year, for half an Age.

But whether our new Governor will fulfil the Predictions of his Oracle or not, in dismissing the Sp—r from his Offices, I hope this Gentleman has too just a Sense of Honour and Justice to retire from his Chair, till the Sense of the Nation is taken upon his Conduct, while he is in the Power of the C—ns. If clearing up the Gentleman's Innocence may not, public Justice certainly requires

this. Therefore, I hope, he will not be removed, at least, not so as to make him ~~be~~ an Assylum in the House of P---s, until the grand ~~work~~ of the Nation does him and themselves Justice.

However acid our Author is in his severe Sarcasms upon the Sp---r, it must be very satisfactory to this Gentleman and his Friends, to find that no Charge of Pride or Ostentation has been made, or can lie against this vilified Character.

So far from such Imputations, it will be found, that this Gentleman is the very first in his high Stations, that has been seen Skeating, undistinguished by any Thing but his Dexterity, from the common Rabble. I will be bold to say, he is the first in his exalted Sphere, who has been seen in a vile scratch Bob, and a coarse, plain Frock, with an oak Sappling in his Hands, walking the Streets, and that frequently in Company with such Fellows, as few Gentlemen of any Character could associate with. Such has always been the Humility of this great Undertaker!

How little has he regarded that Pomp and Parade, by which most Men in his Stations were distinguished, while in Office? What a noble disregard of all those specious Forms, by which Men in the like Stations gain themselves popular Respect and Veneration, has this Gentleman shewn throughout the whole QEconomy of his Offices? Is he not modestly contented with a badly refurbished old Coach, made in the Reign of Queen Anne, and which served some of his Predecessors, who had not the tenth Part of this Gentleman's Income? How seldom is he seen publickly, even with this shabby

shabby Equipage? — Never, except the first and last Days of the S— or upon some State Day in the S— or when the H— attends the L— It can be truly said, that the last modest Protector of England never held the C----n's Mace in more Contempt than this Sp---r has always shewn of this Bauble. In the Days of his Predecessors, that once respectable Ensign of high Magistracy, was never seen, except when borne before the great Officers. These, during the Sessions, never appeared in the Way of their highest Stations, without this Ensign borne before them. The Time was, indeed, when any Man might get it carried into the Four Courts and laid upon the Table in any of those Courts, for half a Guinea. But in more enlightened Days, it has been rescued from that Venality and Prostitution, and was never seen, except before the proper Officer in the Way of his Duty. But how has it been of later Date? Such has been the ~~com~~ Modesty of the present Sp---r, that he is never incumbered with it, never sees it, except when it is laid upon the Table in the House. Is it not daily seen in the midst of the S—, twice a Day, carried through the Streets upon the Shoulder of a common Messenger on Foot? It must be confessed, it has, heretofore, sometimes been carried before a Prostitute. But in our Days it has been seen borne before a pack of common Harlots through the Streets, to let the World see how little the present great Officer regards outward Forms and Appearances.

Another Piece of the Pride and Pomp of his Predecessors has been justly rejected and despised by the present Sp---r. To keep up the idle Form of paying Respect to the civil Power, the several Parishes

Parishes were harrassed to find Constables to attend those Gentlemen every M^r in their Progress to the House, and posted about the Streets to preserve Order without Doors, and keep the Streets clear of all Incumbrances and disorderly Persons.

Our present Sp—t is the first who has had the Honour to break thro' all those obsolete Forms and Ceremonies. He is too humane to suffer his Footmen or Coachman, bare-headed, at the peril of catching Cold, or to plague the poor petty Constables with attending him in his Progress thro' the Streets, to and from the House. He permits nobody to go on Foot about him, except the hackney Chairmen who have the honour of carrying him, or the Messenger by whom he sends the Mace to and from the House,

By this humble and modest Demeanor, he saves his Domestics, the S^t at Arms, the Constables and other usual Attendants on his Station, much Trouble. He keeps the Shopkeepers, Tradesmen and the whole Populace from that Idleness, in standing and looking at the R^{eg}istry, to which our People are but too prone. And being disengaged from the pompous Attendants, he can have the Satisfaction of passing and re-passing unobserved. He can at any Time go secretly to the House, and surprize the opposing Members, who expected a public Entry or Appearance. And he can, unobserved and unexpected, go every Day before the sitting of the House, to the C^o, pay his wonted Tribute of Adoration, and receive the necessary Instructions, for him and his Creatures there. And thus he can, more smoothly and quietly carry on the Business, with which he is intrusted which may be retarded or obstructed by

attracting the Eyes of the Multitude, in a pompous Parade thro' the Streets. And since I mention his Adoration of the Shrine of Power; I must use another which must prove an Argument in his favour, no less prevailing than others; I challenge our Author to point out any one of this Gentleman's Predecessors, who has been more constant and uniform in his Devotion, or more obedient to the Commands or observant of the Instructions of Superiors.---- What should we judge of a G——r who could think of displacing such an old trusty Servant?---- Such we never yet have seen, and I doubt, we never shall see.

If any other Vices or Faults, of a public Nature, can be imputed to our present Sp——r, he can justly plead Precedent for them and the strict copying of his Betters. And I well see, that if the Letter had been more lately published, our Author would have taken in a new Charge, that of *scattering some Money among some of the most numerous and clamourous manufacturing Corporations*, Page 12.— Pray does not this Gentleman represent the L——d L——t? And can he be expected to do better than those who have gone before him have done? This then must be confessed but a seasonable Piece of self Defence: No Sp——r was ever treated with so much Indignity by the Multitude, as this Gentleman was in the last Parliament, when he was less known, than in this. And now, that he is endeavouring to move all Powers, infernal, as well as terrestrial or celestial, against the coming L——d L——t, already made popular by industrious Flatterers; why may not this Gentleman court Popularity, in his turn, and conciliate the Affections of the incensed Multitude, in his own Defence, treading in

in the Footsteps of some of the greatest and best
of his Predecessors?

By this Time, my Lord, I hope, it will appear,
that I have made out, tho' a modest, the fullest
Vindication possible, for the Character and Conduct
of Mr. P—.

From the Page last quoted to the 21st, this
Letter is entirely taken up with the Eloges, and
with the Patriot Declarations and Intentions of the
coming Viceroy, of his Secretary and of Lord
Chatham. What are these hauled in for? As a
contrast to the Character of Mr. P—, and for
the other artful Purposes, I have already pointed
out.

I am willing to give all these Noblemen, all due
Honour and Credit. And had I seen these Decla-
rations publickly delivered, or properly authenti-
cated, they might challenge some Proportion of
our Confidence, tho' perhaps, not as much as this
anonymous Purveyor of Adulation expects to his
nameless Assertions.

I perfectly agree with the Author in his Senti-
ments of long Parliaments, p. 21, of the Writ of
Habeas Corpus, p. 23, 24; of a Place Bill, and of a
Qualification Bill; of a Militia Law, and of a free
Woollen Trade, p. 25, 26, 27, of the necessary
Freedom and Independency of our Judges, p. 27, of
Divines, p. 28, of the Military, of public Offices,
of Pensions, &c. &c. But, why *we are to expect
them, or to depend upon obtaining any of these Bills,*
next Session, as the Author seems assured, I can-
not see from any Thing he has as yet offered.
These

These Promises should be of no more Weight with the true Friends of IRELAND, than the Reports of a very eminent Gentleman, who told us, this Winter, that he attended the Br---sh H--se of P---rs, and heard two certain great Noblemen inveigh against that dangerous Assumption of Prerogative, called an Embargo, while they stood charged with advising the Measure, and that they disdained to defend the Measure as legal, and deigned only to justify it from the Law of Necessity. But this Information has since proved false, by the Publication of the Arguments against the Speeches of the two great Men, thus flattered; by which it appears, that those Patriots avowed and justified the Legality, as well as the Necessity of laying on an Embargo. Thus we see, Men captivated with great Characters, are not to be always credited, when they are disposed to sing the Praises of their Heroes.

This Patriot Author cannot more seriously wish for general Reformation of Manners and Politics in the Kingdom than I do. But, till the Public is as well assured, that *we are at the Eve of the golden Period*, and that the coming L--d L---t means to promote this thorough Reformation and the general Good of the Kingdom, as our Author seems to be, I hope no Man, who means to prove himself a good Subject, a true Friend to his King and Country, will, with our Author, resolve to go Hand over Head, plump into all the Measures of this or any other L--d L---t, till by the Fruit, the Tree becomes known. I am no more than the Author, for *premeditatedly, wantonly, or inadvertently*, from any private Consideration, or from any unjust Motive or Cause, disposed to obstruct

or oppose the present, or any other L--d L---t, in his Measures, if they be wise and just, as is to be hoped: But he, who trusts in no Man, till he proves him, will act the most wise and just Part. Therefore, let no Man be cajolled with insidious Threats, or Promises, made by any Man, and least of all by anonymous Persons or Men in Masks. Let every honest Man carefully avoid the Factions raising for, as well as against the present Chief Governor, and every other Magistrate and Ruler. Let the People prepare to receive this great Man, and treat him as the Representative of the Sovereign. Determine, nevertheless, to watch the Measures and Conduct of him and his Ministers. If wise and just, it must be the indispensable Duty of all good Subjects to assist, to promote their Measures, and to support them. If otherwise, every Subject is bound, by the Allegiance he owes his Country and his King, to give Measures, injurious to either, all legal and just Opposition.

Since, as we are informed by our Author, *we are blessed with three of the greatest Phenomena that ever appeared*, let us profit properly by them, and demand that Reformation of Manners and Politics, that additional Strength and Support of the national Constitution, and that Extent and Improvement of our Trade, which necessary, salutary Laws must secure, and they cannot any longer be denied us.

The Advice to the Sp---t, with which this Author concludes, is hardly becoming the Advocate of the Patriot Governor he elsewhere endeavours to paint. He advises the Sp---r to *make the best Bargain he can, before his old Hacks desert him*, and retire with a pensioned

a pensioned Peerage: So that, however righteous the expected Administration be represented, *Bargains* may be made; *Peerages* and *Pensions* may be obtained by *Barter and Exchange*: Even the old *Hacks* may be provided for, as the glorious *Patriots* and *Martyrs* in the Year 1753 were.

How compatible are these with the Characters drawn of Lord B--- by this Author?—Does he not here level his Hero with the worst of his Predecessors? O! Shameful, flimsy Disguise! Vain, idle, insidious, puffing and boasting!

The Sp---r has been either right or wrong in all his Conduct, If he has been capable, honest, and just in the Discharge of his Offices, why should he not be supported by Government? If otherwise, why should there be any *Bargain*, or *Compromise*? any *Connivance at Crimes*? Why should not strict Justice be done, proportioned to the Offences?

But this may not be: For in this *Eve of a golden Period*, these *coming Halcyon Days*, a high Delinquent may make his Peace, may prescribe the Terms, if the old *Hacks* do not run restive! O! Shame! Shame! Shame!

The Ax, however, must soon be one Way or other brought to the Root of the Tree. And now we shall see, whether conscious Innocency will bear the Sp---r thro', or whether he will quit the Chair, decline a P--- Trial and Test of his Conduct and Character, or whether he will criminally submit, agreeable to our Author's Advice, and

to make himself Friends of the Maxims of Unrighteousness.

An other public Benefit promised to this Kingdom, by the anonymous Advocate for the coming L--d L---t is, his Ex--y's continual Residence, dissolving Factions and lessening the overgrown Power and Influence, of the Commissioners of the Revenue.—The Residence of an upright, wise, and independent L--d L---t, would no Doubt, be attended with many invaluable Blessings to the poor, harassed, and abused Kingdom, where Tyrant Faction has so long ruled with an Iron Rod, where patient Merit receives no better Reward, than Disdain and Contumely of the proud and worthless in Power, and where the People universally groan under Excise Laws, the Oppressor's Wrongs, the Delay or Denial of Justice, and the Insolence of Office.—It would be happy for the People, that all Favours from the Crown should flow through one common Channel to all, indifferently. And considering how Places have generally been disposed of by the Revenue Board, and the Influence they obtain by the Disposal of Offices; it must be satisfactory to every honest and free Heart to hear, that the present L--d L---t means to clip the aspiring Wings of these Eagles, I won't say Vultures,

But, my Lord, if Parliamentary Interest is to influence the Disposal of Offices, to the Public; it matters not from what [redacted] the Favours are dealt. A chief G----r, who means to fulfil the Duties of his Station, will know no Man in the Dispensations of Rewards or Punishments, or

or Employments, or Favours, but as Merit or Demerit dictate. A Viceroy can never think of influencing any Family or Individual in Parliament, by the Distribution of Favours to them or their Connexions. And, as he must know, that a Placeman or Pensioner cannot be a free Member of any Part of the Legislature, he will never judge it consistent with the true Greatness and Honour of his Sovereign or himself to bestow Places or Pensions, upon the Members of either House. Let our Author promise this for the L--d L---t, he so highly extols, since he pretends to know his E---y's Character and Disposition so well.

I know the Sp--r and his Adherents cry out aloud, that no Irish Gentleman can hope for any thing from a resident L--d L---t.—I think the contrary. But, if I thought otherwise, I should wish for the Good of the Kingdom, the Honour of the Crown and the Vicegerent, that all Pensions and Places, were given to Strangers, rather than to the Lords or Commons of IRELAND.

I hope your Lordship, by this, sees I aim only at public Justice, the promoting the Honour of the Crown and its worthy Ministers, and the Liberty and Prosperity of IRELAND, as inseperable from those of BRITAIN.

I send you my crude, but honest Thoughts in Writing. If they be honoured with your Lordship's Approbation, I shall think myself right and happy: I shall then only beg, you will, with your judicious and public spirited Pen, make such Corrections

rections and Alterations in the Manuscript, as you shall think proper and conducive to the End proposed, and then send it to *Almon*, or any other honest Printer for Publication.

I must further beg, you will send one of the first correct Impressions to Lord B—l, and another to our Sp—r, and you will much oblige.

My Lord,

Yours, &c.

DUBLIN, March 2d, 1767.

F — **I** — **N** — **I** — **S**.

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MATTHEW 20.9-13

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